

[9 cont.]

586 Up to the birth of the first child, the marriage is dis-
595 solvable, but not thereafter. Monogamy is the rule; where
596 there is polygamy, the first wife is the "head wife." The eldest
611 brother of the head wife is the family head. The boys belong to
the family of the wife, and the daughters to the family of the
father.

582 The strictest exogamy prevails. Son and daughter may
marry neither into the father's kin group nor into the mother's
[587] kin group. On the other hand, a young widow is usually married
by one of her brothers-in-law.

● 551 The following kin-group names were reported to me:
!Nui-a, Dai, aben, orasi, Gombe, X'am, X'am-Kha.

805 The following times of the day are differentiated:
eruba, time before sunrise.

!khoa_{sa}, time of sunrise (N. khoa-am = to open, that is, the
door for the sun is opened).

soré_{sa}, "the sun shines."

soré_{sa} ≠ kam go, "the young sun goes," breakfast time. In effect,
below the tropics one has the impression that the sun,
after it has stood on the horizon for a while, moves
toward the zenith with great speed.

soré_{sa} !khoa_i go, "the sun goes back." Noon.

//gui-sa, "it declines (lies down)." Afternoon.

[512] ≠ khai-am-go, "to rise and go." After hunting or searching for
veldkost, the Bushmen usually take a rest before it is
time to go home and start cooking (late afternoon).

≠ kha-go, "to go through." (The sun goes through the gate of the
night.) Dusk, sunset.

!khui-sa, to be evening.

dschu-ba, night (N. tsuXub).

821 These Bushmen have the idea that the old sun dies every
night and a new, young sun appears the next morning. That the
[171] moon dies every month and is resurrected again is a notion so
widespread in Africa that it is really unnecessary to make special
mention of it.

805 The year begins when a new rainy season sets in.
//hauba, "storms rise." Rainy season.

[15 cont.]

881 the man's encampment and took up married life. Nowadays the
585 first menstruation and wedding no longer always coincide.

584 The consent of the girl is absolutely necessary for the conclusion of the marriage. People often are betrothed already in childhood. Once the girl has grown up, that is, once she has become sexually mature, the suitor goes to the girl's parents. Neither the bride nor the bridegroom is allowed to enter the encampments of their prospective parents-in-law. If father and mother agree, then they go to the grandparents to obtain their consent. Then oxen, wethers, and goats are collected for the feast. Then the suitor goes to his parents, who in turn consult the grandparents. In the bridegroom's house also livestock is now collected, or, as the case may be, begged or purchased.

585 Then a great feast begins. There is dancing, and long trumpets are blown.

During the wedding dance the men sing:

[539] "Huwi é haa -- huwi é taa -- huwi áni taa." (The girl has grown up.)

The women clap their hands and sing:

"Jee jeee ja! jee jeee ja!"

881 A boys' initiation in the true sense of the term is no
852 longer held. When the boy has grown up, however, a celebration is held and livestock is killed. Similarly, when a child has been born, a celebration takes place, at which wethers or sheep are slaughtered. It is striking that among these Bushmen a sheep usually takes the place of the goat.

551 The boy receives the father's name; the daughter, the
611 mother's name. The children belong to the family of the woman, and the oldest uncle, or oldest brother of the woman, is the head of the family. It is prohibited to marry the children of the
582 mother's sisters.

The kinship terms are as follows:

German	Uukualuithi Bushmen	Nama
601 Father	//khum-khe	//gub, dadab, eib
Mother	//khurns	//gus, is
Son	a X'oron-khe	/gōab/gōb
Daughter	X'ams-khe	/gōas/gōs
Brother	!gasab	!gasab
Sister	di !gas-khe	!gasas

!KUNG

[29 cont.]

553 The custom of spitting is undoubtedly original, not a substitute
852 for well water."

- 551 The father gives his newborn child a name. The boys usually receive animal names, commonly that of the grandfather, and the girls, plant names. Albinos are unknown among the !Kung
- [142] tribes visited by me, but a horde of Bushmen with red eyes is supposed to live in the eastern Sand Veld in the region of the
- [845] Dussidum. I have never seen twins; they are probably done away with. The children are breast fed for a long time; older infants
- 853 learn to squeeze the milk out of the breast with their fingers or pull with their teeth on the leathery nipples. The assertion of
- 847 other travelers that the women kill their children if they are born
- [114] before the previous child has been weaned is allegedly not true of the kin groups visited by me. On the other hand, Vedder (1)

[113]

1. "Zur Vorgeschichte der eingeborenen Völkerschaften von Südwestafrika. I. Die Buschmänner [On the Prehistory of the Native Tribes of Southwest Africa]," by V. Vedder, Journal of the South West Africa Scientific Society, Vol. I, p. 10, 1925-1926, Windhoek, 1927. -- Cf. also Von Zastrow and H. Vedder, op. cit., p. 414.

reports:

"I must mention one other custom which likewise considerably contributes, and may have contributed in prehistoric times, to the Bushmen being so few in number. Custom demands that a child born when the older child of the same mother is not yet three years old be buried alive. This is a gruesome custom. I spoke about it with a racially pure Bushman. My remonstrances did not convince him at all. He explained: 'We Bushmen are poor people. We have no goats and no cows to give our children milk. If the woman brings two children into the world within a period of three years, we don't know what the older child is supposed to live on if the newborn child uses up the mother's milk. It cannot live on the hard veldkost or on tough meat. The teeth are not yet strong enough. If we let the newborn

[64 cont.]

500 the beyond one acts the same as on this earth. Like the Namib
769 Bushmen, they throw little stones on the graves and at the same
time pray that the spirit of the deceased may bring them luck
(Dornan, op. cit., p. 146).

787 Conceptions concerning dreams are tied in with the Lulu
(774) doctrine of conscience. In a dream the other self speaks with the
dreamer, and this may be good or bad. The other self may be in-
fluenced by enemies and thus do harm to the twin soul.

According to Dornan, the Bantu adopted the oracle sticks
from the Bushmen. Every Masarwa carries four or five pieces
with him. The female pieces are longer and narrower than the
(825) male pieces. They are made from the hoofs of small mammals,
(824) from wildebeest bones, and fruit kernels. The names of the four
sticks are: Chowe, Kao, Daua, Gaichwe. The Masarwa believe
(776) that [65] Thora and Huwe, and perhaps also Khauma, speak
through these bones, and Mackenzie (1) states that the Bushmen

[113] 1. Ten Years North of the Orange River,
p. 136.

had designated these bones as morimo aa'me (things of God).

The shoulderblade of the springbok is also used for divina-
tion by the Masarwa.

606 Among the Masarwa the mother-in-law may not look at
551 her son-in-law and may not mention his name. The wife may say
602 neither the name of her husband nor the names of his relatives.

105 Finally, concerning the Swamp Bushmen of the Okovonggo
101 delta, J. Seiner reports:

"The Tannekwe have summer and winter villages, as well
as boats and goats, and engage in agriculture, fishing, and hunting.
(563) The latter occupations are practiced by the pure Bushmen, whereas
half-breeds and the pure Mambukuschu, who were stolen as chil-
dren and reared by the Bushmen, occupy themselves with agricul-
ture and subordinate tasks.

"The number of racially pure Bushmen among the Tannekwe
(144) may be as high as 60 per cent, but as a result of the slight increase
of true Bushmen, which they try to equalize by stealing the
Mambukuschu children, they are undergoing a steady decrease,
AND RACIAL MIXTURE IS PROGRESSING RAPIDLY.

THE KIN TERMINOLOGY SYSTEM OF THE /KUNG BUSHMEN 7

We have already stated that the generational terms *may* apply to all collateral kin⁶⁰¹ and to all lineal kin save those related by parent-child or sibling ties. Up to now we have been assuming, for the sake of orderly procedure, that a /Kung Bushman applies these terms, in the manner specified, to all consanguineous kin solely according to his *biological* position among them. This assumption is correct with respect to the parent-child and sibling relationships; in these instances the biological tie is the sole basis for classifying relatives. But for all other consanguineous relatives, as well as for many other persons besides, a factor other than the biological tie may determine the nature of the terminological relationship. We refer to *the factor of the name*.

The principle underlying the factor of the name is that persons who share the same name occupy identical positions in certain sectors of the kinship constellation we have called System A. Based on this principle, a method of classifying persons terminologically has been developed. We shall refer to this method as the *homonymous method*, and distinguish it from the *generational method* as set out in Diagram 1.

When it comes into conflict with the generational method, the homonymous method takes precedence. It has been developed and extended in the /Kung system more¹⁸⁴ fully than in the /Gikwe and /Kō systems, where it exists, but where it has remained minor, and is practised only among persons who do not have consanguineous or affinal ties. The /Kung, on the other hand, make wide use of the homonymous method.

The complicated system by which terms are applied in this method will be ex-551[●]plained step by step, but first the customs followed by the /Kung in the naming of children will be described.

1. The /Kung have no surnames.
2. Names are sex-linked, hence men and women never have the same name.
3. Parent and child must not bear the same name in /Kung culture. The /Kung said it would be madness for a man to name a son for himself or a daughter for her mother. Our genealogies of about 175 /Kung show no deviation from this rule.
4. Children are always named for relatives, either consanguineous or affinal, 553 although they may bear the name of a non-related person as a second name. They are named for someone in the first or second ascending generation.
5. Fathers have the right to name both sons and daughters. A man invariably names his first-born son for his father (i.e. the child's FaFa) and his first-born daughter for his mother (i.e. the child's FaMo). If he has more than one wife, he names the first-born son and daughter of each wife for his father and mother respectively. Thus siblings, though they are not named for each other, often bear the same name, having been named for the same person. A man usually but not invariably names his second-born son for the child's MoFa and second-born daughter for her MoMo. Fifty-one per cent. of the /Kung in our records are named for their grandparents. Subsequent children are usually named for the siblings of their father or mother, or for the spouses of those siblings. Very rarely is a child named for other relatives. We have recorded two named for cousins of their parents. It is not their custom, /Kung informants told us, for them to name their children for the children's great-grandparents or for the siblings of the children's grandparents.
6. We have recorded about 46 men's names and about 41 women's names in use⁵⁵¹ among the 600 people we know in the Nyae Nyae region.

8 THE KIN TERMINOLOGY SYSTEM OF THE /KUNG BUSHMEN

7. Names are occasionally changed.

8. Nicknames are in common use. They are usually descriptive of physical characteristics, such as Gow Umbilicus or Gow Beard.

It must be kept in mind, as the description of the homonymous method of applying terms proceeds, that the /Kung distinguish between being named for, and having the same name as, a person. When one is named for someone, one is brought into the kinship constellation of that person. Merely fortuitously having the same name as someone does not do this to the same degree. We shall at first limit the description to situations where one is named for another.

A child is, as we have said, never named for a parent, nor is a child named for a sibling (though they may have the same name). In these categories of relationship, therefore, the homonymous method of applying terms is not operative. In other categories of relationship, however, when a person is named for another, he is, with respect to ego, terminologically taken out of his biological category and classified in the category of the person for whom he is named. Ego applies a term to him according to his homonymous classification.

There are three categories, with respect to ego, into which persons may be classified by their names. (1) The parent-child category: Although ego is never named for his parent, some of his relatives will be. (Some of his nephews and nieces, for example, would certainly be named for ego's Fa or Mo.) When this occurs, ego applies a term to that person which classifies the person with the parent of ego's for whom he or she was named. The terms are *tsu* applied to males, *ga* applied to females. The terms *ba* and *dai* are applied, as we have said, only to the biological parents. The terms *tsu* and *ga* are the terms applied to persons in generations adjacent to ego's (i.e. his parents' generation, cf. Diagram 1, p. 6), and are the terms used to classify persons terminologically in the parent category. The same terms would be used for persons named for ego's offspring who again would be terminologically classified as in adjacent generations with respect to ego. (2) The sibling category: If a person is named for ego's sibling, ego classifies him or her terminologically with that sibling and applies the sibling term, i.e. *go* (elder Br), *kwi* (elder Si) or *tsi* (younger Br or younger Si). (3) Ego's category: We consider that the third category is basically ego's category and that it includes persons who are classified by name or generation with ego. Persons may be classified in this category by being named for ego, or for ego's spouse, who is of the same terminological generation as ego. The person for whom ego is named and the spouse of that person are in this category. The way people are classified within it will be brought out as the description proceeds, but more information must first be given about the terms associated with it, namely: *gu/na* (*tu/na* w.s.) and *tun*.

The term *gu/na*, unlike any of the other terms, so far as we know, is a translatable word. *'Gu'* means name, *'na* means big or old. The diminutive which derives from the term is *guma*, small or young name. As terms *gu/na* and *guma* always occur modified with the augmentative or diminutive suffix, never simply as *gu*, the word for name.

* This is undoubtedly the word which Miss Bleek heard as /ku (cf. 'Bushman Terms of Relationship', p. 62). It seemed to us particularly difficult to determine, when a word began with the alveolar palatal

click, whether the consonant release was voiced or unvoiced. We have two opinions here, Miss Bleek's /ku and our /gu. Mr. Westphal hears no consonant, i.e. /ŋ.

553

[551]

553

601

[114
194]

14 THE KIN TERMINOLOGY SYSTEM OF THE /KUNG BUSHMEN

553 ego or his kin or affines. We shall refer to this aspect of the kinship system as the
601 name-relationship.

Among name-relatives, as among consanguineous relatives, it is the biologically older person who classifies the younger with respect to his (the older's) kinship constellation, using the diminutive form of the term for the younger person. The younger person reciprocates.

• 551 One of the factors in the name-relationship is an ancestral list of names to which
553 terms are linked. Each /Kung has his own individual list to learn, taught to him by
601 his parents and his /*gu/na*. No one could tell us exactly how the list is compiled, but the theory which lies behind the list is that there were among ego's forbears persons whose names required certain terms. (One surmises they were great-grandparents and their siblings and the siblings of grandparents, &c. or perhaps still earlier generations.) Name-relatives who have these names may have had some distant consanguineous connexions. Ego no longer knows, but the old people knew, and in following their teaching ego knows he is following his proper homonymous pattern. Every informant had such a list and told us what term he linked with every name we knew. Some had more than one term linked with a name. ≠Toma used the term *tān* for women named Khwova who came from the Gum region and /*kwi* for Khwovas from the north. His parents, he said, told him to do this.

553 There is a system of applying terms to name-relatives. Ego is in the place of first
601 priority in the sense that invariably the term /*gu/na* is applied to any name-relative having the same name as himself. Furthermore, ego applies terms to the Fa, Mo, So, Da, sibling and spouse of a /*gu/na* who is a name-relative having the same name as himself, as he does in the case of the person for whom he is named. However, this is carried no further. He does not apply terms to persons named for these name-relatives and he does not apply terms to the nuclear family and spouse of a person he terms /*gu/na* unless the /*gu/na* has the same name as himself.

The term *tān* is invariably applied to any male name-relative who has the same name as ego's Fa, //*ga* or *dilguma* to any female name-relative with the same name as ego's Mo.

[114] There are gaps in our knowledge at this point; confusion in the data was not
551] resolved. We think, but are not certain, that next in order comes the ancestral list, taking precedence over siblings, children and spouses as a source of terms to apply to name-relatives. We think the terms applied to name-relatives derive mainly from the ascending generations, except /*gu/na*, applied to persons with the same name as ego's. To illustrate, take a man named Bo. Unless Bo is ego's name, or the name of ego's Fa, ego would use for Bo the term which was linked to the name Bo on his ancestral list. We think that, even if Bo were the name of ego's Br or the Hu of a female ego, the sibling or spouse term would not take precedence over the term linked with the name Bo on the ancestral list. We are certain that the ancestral list does take precedence over ego's children as a source of terms for name-relatives.

[551] We have been assuming that the name occurs on the ancestral list. If a person should come along whose name was not on his ancestral list, but was the same as one of ego's consanguineous kin or affines, ego would apply the term to that person which he applies to the consanguineous kin or affine. (In the case of an affine ego would use a kin term corresponding to the affinal term, not the affinal

606 his mother-law, it is necessary to speak to anybody in her hut, he will keep at a distance and depart as soon as he sees her approaching. They never refer to each other by name but always as "my son-in-law" or "my mother-in-law." The son-in-law does not associate with his father-in-law but similarly avoids him and should they meet accidentally they may exchange greetings but no general conversation will take place nor will they look each other in the face.

847 Abortion is sometimes practised early in pregnancy in the case of both married and unmarried women. It is procured by external manipulation of the uterus and not through the agency of drugs.

844 A pregnant woman is generally treated with great consideration. For the first confinement it is customary for her to return to her mother's group. Among the *Hei-//om* the labour is conducted in the camp. Among the more primitive Kalahari Bushmen the woman leaves the camp as soon as the first symptoms appear and is attended to by her mother or some other old woman underneath a tree some distance away. Tufts of grass are uprooted and placed upside down on the tree as a warning to men that a labour is in progress. The mother returns to the camp immediately after the birth of the child and for a week or more subsequently is relieved of such duties as gathering wood and veldkos, fetching water, etc. In the event of a mother dying during childbirth the

846 infant is reared by the grandmother or by some friend who desires a child. When it cannot be disposed of in this manner

848 it is buried alive with the mother. Illegitimate births are not common among the primitive communities. When they do occur the children are usually put to death. Pregnancies

165 follow in rapid succession during the course of married life

847 but owing to the high mortality among infants caused by the strenuous conditions of life very few children survive. Further, among the Bushmen of the Kalahari child murder is practised. Children are suckled until they are able to walk well. If a new child is born while the last one is still on the breast it is buried alive in the nearest burrow or in a hole made for the purpose by the old woman who conducted

845 the labour. When twins are born one is invariably killed. It is for these reasons that it is rare to find families of five

162 or more children in the Kalahari. On an average only two or three children survive infancy and early childhood.

Among the Bushmen of the Oschimpoloveld and Ovamboland larger families are met with. Brother and sister avoidance

843 is met with in some but not in all tribes. There is no special ceremony in connection with the naming of children. Among

553 the *Hei-//om* each child is generally given three names,

551 namely a first name, a second name and a surname. Names are not given by the parents. The first name may be given by the father's mother and the second name by the

old woman who assisted at the confinement. Boys take the 553
surname of the mother and girls that of the father. Thus
|Uirob Geirob |Geibeb married a woman |Kao-tamas
Gamanis |Harus and begot two sons, namely ||Otoab ≠Gonab
|Garub and Gogob Gomob |Garub, and one daughter Hoaras
|Geibes. Not uncommonly, in the case of boys only, the
father's surname with the suffix *mab*, meaning son of, is
added to the surname. Hence the names of ||Otoab become
||Otoab ≠Gonab |Garub |Geibemab. This practice offers a
means of identifying relationship and is used for this purpose.
A person is as a rule called by the first name only. Nick-551
names are common and are given to children when quite
young. They are usually directed towards some physical
peculiarity, for example, *Eibarab*, the lad with the long face
and *Amgoseb*, the one with the pointed lips. They are often
retained throughout life.

The communities which have not been in contact with 64
civilization are remarkably free from infectious, contagious
and other diseases. Except during heavy rainy seasons when
malaria becomes unduly prevalent the incidence of disease is
very small among them. Sickness is in most instances 753
attributed to the non-observance of customary practices on
the part of the affected person, to magical influences exercised
by other persons or, when unduly prevalent, to something
going wrong with the perpetual fire. Treatment is adminis- 757
tered by relatives and friends or in cases of acute or prolonged
illness by an elder or doctor who is well versed in magical
practice. Herbs of various descriptions are employed both
internally and externally through incisions in the skin.
Inunction with medicated ointments is also extensively resorted
to. Surgical procedures are limited to incisions into the skin.
Burial of the dead is carried out almost universally at present. 764
Among the more primitive groups, however, the corpse is left 764
in the hut which is simply pressed down so as to cover it.
After a death has taken place the camp is deserted and not 768
occupied again. Old people who are no longer able to help 888
themselves are left in the werft with a supply of food and
water. The rest of the group then move off and do not
return to it again.

DANCES AND GAMES.

Dancing and games of various kinds enter very largely into 535
the lives of the Bushmen. Of these the dance takes the first
place among their social recreations. Some of the dances
such as the *tsei*, *hāigi-ho*, and *ge-ni* among the ≠Ao-||ēin
and *Aikwe* and the *hauca-≠nab* among the *Hei-||om* would
appear to be of a religious nature, being danced only on
ceremonial occasions, for example, during the initiation cere-
monies. On the other hand dancing is often indulged in at
night for pure pleasure, especially in times of plenty. The

291 Both men were thin, brown-skinned, and wore nothing but loincloths, and they looked very out of place next to us, among our big trucks and boxes of equipment, squatting naked like two frogs against the long grass and reddening sky of their country. We sat by the fire to talk with them, and it was the old man who answered our questions. His name was

[194] Ukwane, and he seemed very old, for he spoke with a hesi-
 • 551] tant, cracked voice that faded into a whisper at the end of every phrase, and whenever some of us would leave or join the group at the fire he would stare intently at us, frowning, [164] leaning forward a little because he could barely see us, his eyes being filmed with cataracts, hazy blue.

142 Ukwane had great wrinkles lengthwise down his belly where his paunch had shrunk. His hands were knobbed and his shoulders stiff, yet his legs were as supple as a baby's, for [E14] he sat crouched with his knees in the air and his heels tucked up tight against his buttocks. His skin looked old, too, like [302] old leather, hardened and black like a glove that has been left in the rain, and his curly hair was disheveled, uncut, untidy with pieces of straw.

609 Our questions frightened Ukwane, and often he was at a loss for something to reply. He thought we were policemen coming to look for some lost horses, for somehow a rumor had reached into the farthest corners of the veld that a European farmer had lost seven horses and all the people in the veld were afraid for their lives. The first thing he said was that he hadn't seen any horses and certainly hadn't taken them himself. He was too old, he said. We told him that we were not policemen and, besides, had never heard of the horses, but he was not reassured. He coughed and turned to the young man, who looked at us with nothing to say.

609 The young man was also very shy, but had a greater dignity
 194 than Ukwane because of his cool, proud bearing. He said

The Bushmen

43

is a painful procedure. The cuts are made on the thighs and³⁰⁴ forehead with a knife or ax blade, then charcoal is rubbed in, but the woman told us later that in her case it had been worth the pain and trouble because, she said, she was extremely ugly and had been made more beautiful.

Her baby's name was Nhwakwe, she told me, and after⁵⁵¹ that we were at a loss for conversation. I offered her a ciga-²⁷⁶rette, which she declined, indicating that it made her cough. I was surprised, for she was the only Bushman I had ever met, man, woman, or child, who did not smoke.

Presently she smiled, pressed her hand to her chest, and⁵⁵¹ said: "Tsetchwe." It was her name. ⁶⁰⁹

"Elizabeth," I said, pointing to myself.

"Nisabe," she answered, pronouncing after me and inclining her head graciously. She looked me over carefully without really staring, which to Bushmen is rude. Then, having surely suspected that I was a woman, she put her hand on my breast gravely, and, finding that I was, she gravely touched her own breast. Many Bushmen do this; to them all Europeans look the same.

"Tsau si" (women), she said.

Then after a moment's pause, Tsetchwe began to teach me⁶⁰⁹ a few words, the names of a few objects around us, grass,²²² rock, bean shell, so that we could have a conversation later. As she talked she took a handful of the beans out of her kaross, broke them open, and began to eat them. This is a^[37] wonderful, bitter bean, shaped like a lima bean, which grows on tiny bushes in patches throughout the Kalahari. When you^[61] eat these beans they burn your tongue, throat, and stomach, but they take away hunger and thirst. Besides the beans in her kaross, Tsetchwe, who began unloading, brought out a large, edible root which she had dug up—she must have been gathering food before we came—and put it in the shade of a

Peoples of the Veld and Sky

159

luctance the bride struggled while the other girl caught her. 585
She lifted the bride and carried her on her shoulders, not upright as a figure of triumph but wrapped in the kaross and motionless, like a dead little animal, then put her shrouded body on the floor of the new scherm and left her there to lie quietly while the wedding guests arrived. Again according to custom, the groom seemed to take no notice of his new bride; the people in the werf paid no attention, and, in fact, all the people went about their business in such a matter-of-fact way that an observer would think that nothing had happened although the young people were now married, the wedding had taken place.

The parents of the couple could not attend the wedding, [551] ●
for the young bride and groom were so tabu to them at this [784]
time that they could not even mention their names. In fact, no older person could attend, and the guests who came were all children, three-year-olds to teen-agers, who sat by the young couple's fire decorously, the boys on the man's side, the girls on the woman's, and talked quietly for twenty minutes or so, the youngest guests leaving when their bedtimes came. That was all. In the morning the little girl and her young husband were anointed with fat by their mothers, and they lived together from that day on.

A month later the bride's mother, who was herself a young 844
woman, bore another child, her second daughter. We were at her werf at the time, sitting in the shade. That day the young woman had not gone out for veld food, but was lying propped up on her elbow in front of her scherm when suddenly, without telling anyone what was happening, she stood up and walked into the bushes, only to come back some time later with her baby in the fold of her kaross. We might not [354]
have known what had happened except that she was smiling a sure, sweet smile because she was pleased with herself. Her

Beautiful Ungka and Lazy Kwi

167

chance to look at everyone else and see who was there, we⁶²¹ found among the Bushmen one entire band, six people, who once had lived at Gautscha. These were an old man, his two daughters, his son, his grandson, and his son-in-law, a man⁵⁵¹ named Lazy Kwi. Because Kung Bushmen have relatively few names in use, resulting in the fact that many, many people have the same name—one man we knew had two wives named Kushe and two daughters named Xama, called after his mother, whose name was also Xama—they distinguish their various Xamas and Kwis with nicknames.

Lazy Kwi was a kind, warmhearted man, devoted to his family, and was named Lazy, an insulting name, only because he was not a good hunter. He was heavy-footed, there²²⁴ fore noisy, and not an excellent shot; but he was a good trap²⁶² per and got meat for his family by snaring birds and lizards. But because he did not hunt he never owned large shares of meat and ate only what came to him by the Bushmen's system of dividing, which put him in the role of poor relation and sometimes forced him to eat what others would not touch. Once he had suppressed his pride and eaten a badger. Although the other Bushmen had turned up their noses at this rank meat, he had said: "I am the badger-eating man," laughing off their scorn to hide his shame. He had eaten it sadly, and the sweet taste of it had sickened him and had made him vomit and retch for the rest of the day. Luckily for²²⁴ his family, his father-in-law made beautiful arrows and in the hunting system of Bushmen the man who gives or lends the arrow with which a buck is shot is automatically the owner of a large share of the meat. His father-in-law often lent arrows and often got meat. In fact, the old man had a domi⁸⁸⁸ nant voice in the running of the family, for though old men⁶²¹ may be aged and consumptive, those younger than they do what they say. Far from being derogatory, "Old" is a term of

159 Toma the headman, sometimes known as Male Toma, an
 [55] honorary name, sometimes known as Toma the Short, so-called because of his stocky build, was a famous person, and once had been a serf. He was born of serf parents at Gam, and as a boy had worked for the Chuanas, drawing their water and herding their cattle and goats.

672 When Toma was a boy, his father was murdered by a
 682 child, the result of a terrible accident which took place one
 159 day when Toma's father was arguing with the father of a boy named Gao. Gao, who couldn't have been more than ten years old, became upset and angry when he heard his father quarreling and, taking his father's weapons, shot Toma's father in the chest with a poisoned arrow. The old man was helped to the shade, the arrow was drawn out and the wound sucked, but as there is no antidote for arrow poison the old man lived only for the rest of the day and by night he was dead.

Oddly enough, the crime was connected with the old man and not with Gao, the young murderer, for ever after that day the old man was referred to as Tsamko Bone Arrow,
 [55] while Gao in later years became known as Gao Wild Pig, after a pig he had killed which was in some way remarkable.

159 Toma flourished as a young man and became an excellent hunter with tireless legs, tireless eyes, and a deadly aim, and it was said of him that he never returned from a hunt without having killed at least a wildebeest, if not something larger. Hence, the people connected with him ate a great deal of meat and his popularity grew. He once said of himself: "From the day I was born I was born for meat."

159 When Toma was in his late teens, some say, his powers
 682 in hunting attracted the attention of the headman of Gautscha Pan, who offered Toma the hand of his daughter, Tu, in marriage. Toma accepted, went to live with his wife's peo-

487 with their families on trips that would take them only hours if they were traveling alone. We stopped a fourth time in the middle of the vast plain, for John had seen a shattered ostrich egg on the ground and wanted to let the Bushmen gather it to make beads. Toma motioned him to drive on. The egg, he thought, belonged to a man named Crooked Kwi, who had left it there one season and would return for it some day soon. Toma had heard of this event from Crooked Kwi [487] himself when they had seen each other last, and, observing that the shell fragments were gathered into a pile, he supposed that this must be the very egg that Crooked Kwi had mentioned. It was just where Crooked Kwi had said it would be, too.

361 We left the eggshells behind in the immense plain and went on our way toward the eastern rim. When we got there we found the rest of Gao Feet's family—his older and uglier first wife, his old mother-in-law, his first wife's daughter, and his daughter's husband, none other than Crooked Kwi himself. These people were living in a most beautiful glade of thorn bushes that were growing thickly together among tall trees, their branches arching just over people's heads. A fire had cleared out all the grass and leaves, leaving just the brown earth and the gray lace of branches; the people were brown and their things were brown and white and the ashes of their fires were gray in the little hollows on the ground, for these people, too, had built no shelters. Tu got right out of the [552] jeep and went straight to a fire, where she began to crack some of her tsi nuts between a stick and a stone.

608 The rest of us exchanged greetings and the old woman,
 ● 551 Dikai's mother, embraced me. "You are my daughter. I bore you," she said. When I had first come to Gautscha Pan I had been named Dikai for her daughter, and among the Kung one is strongly identified with the person one is named for; as the

The Grove

209

namesake of Dikai, I had acquired her set of relationships and⁶⁰⁸ was expected to follow the rules that applied to her. I could⁵⁵¹ act in a familiar way with those people whom she treated familiarly and was expected to avoid those whom she avoided. I called Dikai "Big Name," the term usually applied in such a relationship, she called me "Little Name," her nephews called me "Aunt," her mother called me "Daughter," and often her husband, Gao Feet, with roars of laughter, would say he would marry me someday.

We sat down in the werf in the delicate shade of the arching²⁸¹ branches and Dikai's mother produced a bag full of tsi nuts,⁴¹⁵ which the people began to roast and eat. The bag was made²⁵² of the entire skin of a duiker—a little nocturnal antelope no bigger than a small dog—turned inside out with the legs tied together as handles, the neck tied off as the bottom of the bag and the rump open as the top. When it was full of tsi it was solid and formed and looked eerily like a little, headless duiker.

When the day was over and the sky was getting dark¹⁵¹² made a camp for myself a few feet from the werf. The Bush-⁶⁰⁹man children helped me pull the grass. We built a fire in our clearing and I cooked some beans and tsi nuts that Dikai's mother had given me for myself and the children, and as Bushmen from the werf began to come over I cooked more and more. There wasn't much—the Bushmen had only half a day's supply and we hadn't expected to be away from camp so long. Everyone had a little, though, and afterward we filled ourselves up with water and we smoked. It was very cold. Be-⁵¹³fore the night was over, the water we had in our water pail had turned to ice. On nights such as this the Bushmen prefer to sit up and talk, to keep their minds off the fact that the air is cold and they are naked and hungry, rather than to try to sleep; they wait to sleep the following day, warm in the sun.

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

238

SHARING, TALKING, AND GIVING: RELIEF OF

224
482
491

or a woman, consanguineous kin, affine, or friend. Thirdly, people lend arrows to one another. The status of the arrow plays its part in the distribution of the animal killed with it. There is much giving and lending of arrows. The society seems to want to extinguish in every way possible the concept of the meat belonging to the hunter.

A hunter chooses which arrow he will use. The owner of the arrow—who *ipso facto* owns the animal—may therefore be the hunter himself, who has chosen to use an arrow he made or one that was given him, or he may be a person who lent the arrow to the hunter.

There may be several hunters in the hunting party and several arrows in the animal, but this seems to cause no confusion or conflict. Every arrow is known, of course. The hunters may see which first penetrates effectively so that its poison could account for the kill. But I think that often it is arranged beforehand who will own the animal. A man asking another to accompany him might say, 'Come and help me get a buck.' Or 'Old Gau lent me an arrow and asked me to hunt for him. You come too.'

224

I think there is little or no dissension as to who owned the animal because it is not a cause for great stress; each hunter gets a share of the meat anyway. I think also that a man wants sometimes to be the owner of the meat in order to start the distribution off in the direction of his own kin and affines, but that one is also content sometimes not to have the onus of the main distribution.

The first distribution of the animal is made in large portions usually to five or six persons. They are the owner of the arrow, the giver of the arrow (if the arrow was not one the owner had made himself), and the hunters. The meat, always uncooked in the first distribution, is given on the bone, unless the animal is large and the meat has been cut into strips at the kill.

In a second distribution the several persons who got meat in the first distribution cut up their shares and distribute them further. This meat also is given uncooked. The amounts depend on the number of persons involved, but should be as much as the giver can manage. In the second distribution close kinship is the factor which sets the pattern of the giving. Certain obligations are compulsory. A man's first obligation at this point, we were told, is to give to his wife's parents. He must give to them the best he has in as generous portions as he can, while still fulfilling other primary obligations, which are to his own parents, his spouse, and offspring. He keeps a portion for himself at this time and from it would give to his siblings, to his wife's siblings, if they are present, and to other kin, affines, and friends who are there, possibly only in small quantities by then.

[COS]

Everyone who receives meat gives again, in another wave of sharing, to his or her parents, parents-in-law, spouses, offspring, siblings, and others. The meat may be cooked and the quantities small.

[514]

Visitors, even though they are not close kin or affines, are given meat by the people whom they are visiting. This is a strongly felt social rule. Visitors may receive small quantities of cooked meat, which is like being asked to dinner.

[551]

Name relatives often receive generous portions of meat because they have the same name as the giver or because their names associate them with his close kin, but this seems to be more a favour than an absolute rule. ≠Toma said there were far too many men named ≠Toma for him to give them special consideration.

[608]

LORNA MARSHALL

259

Both the father and mother expect and receive respect and obedience⁵⁹³ from their children. Although the mother's influence is always felt, I believe that the father's authority is greater. It is not formalized or expressed in a harsh or domineering way. As long as the father lives, he is the head of the family, symbolically. Even when too old to hunt, if he is still a forceful^[882] person, he remains the one in authority, the leader of the sons-in-law and his daughters, of his sons and their wives. Gradually, however, when he becomes very old, the younger men make their own plans without necessarily consulting him.

!Kung families are responsible for dependents. Thus, old, dependent⁷³⁷ parents are unfailingly supported by their offspring and may choose with which one of their offspring they will live. Orphaned children are taken⁷³⁶ by their grandparents or by a sibling of their parents. It happens occasionally that a person has no living parent, offspring, or sibling. In that case, other relatives assume the responsibility.

THE NAME RELATIONSHIP • Although !Kung society has developed no⁵⁷¹ formal political structure under which the bands are united, and there are⁶⁰² no organizations outside the bands, these people have a means of extending⁵⁵³ the concept of kinship beyond close consanguineous relatives and affines⁶¹⁹ and of recognizing, in what we call the name relationship, the web of remote interrelationship that long intermarriage within the region has established.

Invariably the first son and the first daughter are named by their father for their paternal grandparents. Other children are usually named for their mother's parents, the siblings of their parents, and the spouses of those siblings, and may occasionally be named for other relatives. Thus, a few names are used over and over through the generations. We recorded only^[551] forty-six men's names and forty-one women's names in the region. The !Kung assume that persons who have the same name are related, though the exact nature of the relationship is forgotten. They believe, also, that people with the same name somehow have a common entity. They bestow^[601] upon each other kin terms that are appropriate to the name, according to a system. The !Kung have intermarried within the Nyae Nyae region to^[582] such an extent that everyone has a kin term he associates with each one of the names. This means that the people of the whole region are what we call name relatives, all applying kin terms to each other.

From the !Kung point of view the custom has two values. It regulates⁵⁵³ the incest taboo in its furthestmost extension, especially the joking relation-⁶⁰² ship that symbolizes the taboo. (For example, a man should not marry or⁸³⁵ make sexual jokes with a woman who has the same name as his mother.) The !Kung feel secure in righteousness when they know they are behaving

the members" (Murdock 1949:62 ff.). This definition very nearly fits the !Kung name relationship, but we are convinced that the !Kung do not think of the region as having a consciously structured grouping to which authority is attributed, such as, for example, a rule of endogamy. ⁵⁵³
₆₀₂
₁₂₁
₁₂₉

- (8) Among consanguineous kin, ego is forbidden to marry siblings of parents, cousins (first, strictly; second, less strictly; and third, only theoretically), and nephews and nieces. Ego's marriage with great-grandparents, grandparents, grandchildren and great-grandchildren is also forbidden, but is not a concern. Discrepancy in age and the realization of close consanguinity combine to make the idea ridiculous and almost unthinkable. The affines whom ego must not marry are numerous, including spouses of offspring and parents of the spouse, also spouses of uncles and aunts. ⁵⁸²

Ego must not marry his sister's husband's father or brother's wife's mother, because, as marriages with the sister's husband and brother's wife are preferred, it seems improper to marry parents of one of these affines. Similarly, marriage with the husband's brother and wife's sister are preferred, so it seems logical to the !Kung to forbid marriage with the husband's brother's son or the wife's sister's daughter. Marriage with the parent of a son's wife or a daughter's husband is forbidden, for if ego married these affines that would make the son and son's wife or the daughter and daughter's husband step-brother and stepsister, which would be most awkward. Marriage with the wife's brother's wife or the husband's sister's husband is also forbidden; the reason for this lies in a complexity of the joking relationship.

Lastly, marriage is prohibited with certain name relatives whose names associate them with kinsmen to whom the incest taboo is extended. Ego is supposed not to marry anyone with the same name as his parent or offspring or anyone with the same name as his spouse's parent or offspring's spouse. He should not marry the parent or offspring or sibling of anyone with the same name as himself. ⁵⁸²
₅₅₁

- (9) When the people go to the mangetti forests after the rains have begun, the young girls draw on the soft, smooth, gray bark of female mangetti trees. They make diagrammatic representations of their genital aprons, of the bead ornaments that they wear in their hair and that are male and female symbols (the long rectangular ones are male, the triangular ones are female), and of the stripes of their leg scarifications. This suggests that the scarifications were associated directly with fertility, although now the women claim they are made only for beauty. ⁵³²
₂₀₁
₃₀₄

Incidentally, the Nyae Nyae !Kung know nothing of the cave paintings or rock engravings that abound in other parts of southern Africa. We found none in the country around them. There were drawings, however, on baobab trees, abstract-looking forms different from the girls' drawings on the mangetti trees. ⁶⁰⁰

- (10) We believe that one of several possible adjustments might be made. Strictly speaking, a daughter does not become headman (though we heard people ⁶²²
₅₆₂

19

true even at the periphery of their distribution where !Kung speakers have been intermarrying with other Bushmen for generations.

• 551
553

The second diagnostic criterion is the !Kung system of naming. There is a finite repertoire of about ninety personal names among the !Kung of Bechuanaland and South West Africa. All names are sex specific, about forty-five are for men and forty-five for women. Personal names are transmitted from grandparent to grandchild according to explicit rules of precedence. First-born males are named after their paternal grandfather and first-born females after their paternal grandmother. Subsequent offspring are named for the maternal grandparents and if necessary further children are named for the siblings of their parents, again with the paternal side taking precedence. The !Kung feel that all people bearing a certain personal name are ultimately descended from the original bearer of that name. Thus all men named, for example, /oma, feel a fictive kinship for one another. They formalize this by addressing all namesakes older than ego as grandfather (:un'a - literally "older name") and all namesakes younger than ego as grandson (:uma - literally "younger name"). By the extension of primary kinship terms to unrelated namesakes, some 9,000 !Kung Bushmen are actually or potentially incorporated into a fictive kinship network. This network extends from the Ghanzi farms on

551 the south to the Okavango River on the north. The !Kung
553 name-relationship was first described by Lorna Marshall
(1957:3ff) for the Bushmen at /Gauša Pan, South West Africa.
It was found in 1964 that !Kung farm workers as far away as
Gobabis, South West Africa, two hundred miles south of /Gauša,
possessed the same repertoire of personal names, the same
rules of name inheritance, and the same method for fictively
linking unrelated individuals through the name relationship.

From the scanty evidence available on the Angola !Kung
(Bleek 1928), it appears that the name relationship is not
operative there. However, in Bechuanaland and South West
Africa the presence of the institution is a reliable criterion
for determining whether a Bushman is !Kung.¹

101 There are three geographical divisions of the !Kung
131 Bushmen. The northern group, numbering about 4,000, live in
162 Angola and the far northern districts of South West Africa.
The central group, numbering about 7,000, extend from the
western margin of the Okavango Swamp in Bechuanaland as far
as the farms of the Grootfontein district of South West Africa.
[241] The southern group (c. 2,000) are confined to the farms of the

¹ Unpublished evidence on the southern /hūa Bushmen indicates that they possess a system of fictive kinship based on personal names, but the repertoire of names appears to be entirely different from that of the !Kung Bushmen (Heinz, Westphal, personal communications).

101 Ghanzi and Gobabis Districts and their immediate northern
131 hinterland. All three divisions speak mutually intelligible
162 dialects of !Kung but only the central and southern divisions
241 have the institution of the name relationship.
197

551
184

The northern division peoples call themselves "ǀkū"

101

meaning "people" (Bleek, 1928:106) and many ethnographers have adopted this as the general appellation for the tribe. There has been a bewildering variety of spellings of this name¹ and it is urgent that one standard form be chosen. It is recommended that ǀKung be adopted as the standard appellation for the tribe, following the lead of Fourie (1928:83) and Marshall (1957, 1959, 1960, 1962, etc.). This is not the most phonetically accurate of the alternatives, but the controversy over spelling is an academic one because the majority of the "ǀKung" do not recognize this as their tribal appellation at all.

The central division "ǀKung" call themselves "zū/wāsi" (zū = "people"; /wā = "proper" or "true"; si = plural suffix). This translates as "the proper people" or "the true people". It also has the connotation of "just folks" which Elizabeth Marshall Thomas has appropriately rendered as "The Harmless People" (1959). Bushmen of the study area objected to the

¹ At least fourteen different spellings are in the literature including: Kung, ǀKū, ǀKun, Qhung, //Khun, ǀKūng, ċhū, ǀxū, ǀKhū, ǀun, ǀKung.

BIRTH AND INFANCY

115

believed that they bring ill-luck on the parents. What treatment is adopted in the other tribes is not definitely stated; among the Naron it appears that they are both allowed to live. 845
847

The exposure or killing of deformed children does not seem to occur in any of the tribes. Abortion, however, is often induced by treading on the body of the pregnant woman. It appears to be practised mainly when she is unmarried, and therefore to imply that only married women have the right to bear and rear children. 847

There is no account of any special ceremony held in connection with birth, although if there is enough food—but only then—a feast followed by a dance may be given by the parents. The child is usually named shortly after birth, without special ceremony. The name is given by the parents in consultation with the grandparents and other relatives, and among most of the North-Western tribes is generally that of some near relative. Boys, for instance, may receive the name of a paternal grandfather or uncle, girls that of a maternal grandmother or aunt. Often there is a squabble about the name between the father's people and those of the mother; whichever party is in force generally succeeds in having its wishes adopted, and the child is named after a member on that side of the family. 852
553
[578]

The Heikun system of naming closely resembles that of the Hottentots, and has in all probability been taken over from them. "Each child," says Fourie,¹ "is generally given three names, namely a first name, a second name, and a surname. Names are not given by the parents. The first name may be given by the father's mother, and the second name by the old woman who assisted at the confinement. Boys take the surname of the mother and girls that of the father." Thus /Uirob Geirob /Geibeb married a woman /Kao-tamas Gamanis /Garus and begot two sons, namely //Otoab /Gonab /Garub and Gogob Gomob /Garub, and one daughter Hoaras /Geibes. Not uncommonly, in the case of boys only, the father's surname with the suffix *mab*, meaning son of, is added to the surname. Hence the names of //Otoab become //Otoab /Gonab /Garub /Geibemab. This practice offers a means of identifying relationship and is used for this purpose. A person is as a rule called by the first name only. Nicknames are common, and are given to children when quite young. 171
553
171
551

¹ Passarge, op. cit., 99; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 30-1; *idem*, "Bushman Terms of Relationship," 66.

² "Customs of the Hei-//om," 61.

³ This feature is specially characteristic of the Hottentot system of name-giving. V. below, p. 267.

116 SOCIAL HABITS AND CUSTOMS

171 They are usually directed towards some physical peculiarity, for
 ● 551 example, *Eibarah*, the lad with the long face, and *Amgoseb*, the one
 with the pointed lips. They are often retained throughout life."

853 Children are nursed by their mothers till about three or even four
 [862] years old. They cannot be weaned sooner, as there is no suitable
 food; they begin to taste vegetable foods quite soon, but in order to
 satisfy their hunger must still have recourse to their mother's breast.

847 This prolonged weaning is responsible for the custom of infanticide
 found among the North-Western tribes.¹ Sexual intercourse between
 the parents is not discontinued until pregnancy is far advanced, and
 is resumed shortly after the birth. As no preventive means save

[163] abortion are known, pregnancies therefore follow in rapid succession
 during the course of married life, and it often happens that another
 child, or even two, may be born while the first is still at the breast.
 In such a case the new child is, as the natives euphemistically put
 it, "thrown away." Care is taken that the birth takes place in the

[844] bush far away from home, and an attempt is made to force it on by
 massage. But whether alive or stillborn, the infant is buried in the
 nearest burrow or in a hole in the ground made for the purpose by
 the old woman who helps the mother.

This practice is generally carried out against the husband's wishes,
 but the women are adamant in their refusal to rear two children at
 the same time. They find it impracticable to provide for two children
 of different ages, both needing the shelter of their kaross, and to be
 carried on marches, and are determined not to have another child to
 rear until the first is able to do without their milk and care. In
 selecting which children shall live, they go merely by the convenient
 time, not by the health of the infant; several people have physical
 defects dating from birth, good evidence that deformed children are
 not necessarily done away with. It follows that only every second
 or third child is usually weaned, the one or two born in the interval
 being killed without exception. This practice is not heard of among

[184] the Southern or the Namib Bushmen.

[165] In consequence of this custom, as well as of the high infant mortality
 caused by the natural hardships and strenuous conditions of Bushman
 life, relatively few children survive, and the families are therefore
 162 small. On the average women do not rear more than two or three
 children, although among the Naron Miss Bleek found one or two

¹ Passarge, op. cit., 99; Kaufmann, op. cit., 136; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 31-3; Fourie,
 "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 94.